

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 VIENNA 09297 01 OF 02 120645Z

14

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 IO-14 OIC-04 AEC-11 OMB-01

TRSE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 DRC-01 /153 W

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R 110852Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 521

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9297

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING

NOVEMBER 8

SUMMARY: AHG MEETING FOLLOWING NOVEMBER 8 PLENARY FIRST
EXCHANGED REACTIONS TO EASTERN DRAFT REDUCTION AGREEMENT.

DETAILED ANALYSIS, BASED ON US DRAFT AND INCORPORATING
POINTS DEVELOPED BY AHG AND EXPERTS GROUP, BEING SENT
SEPTEL. GREEK CHAIRMAN (DOUNTAS) REPORTED ON CONTENTS
OF HIS MESSAGE TO NATO SYG TRANSMITTING DOCUMENTS ON
EASTERN PROPOSAL (VIENNA 9223 - NOTAL). SEVERAL REPS REPORTED
THAT SOVIET REP KHLESTOV HAD STATED INTENTION TO KEEP
EASTERN PROPOSAL STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL. AGREEMENT WAS
REACHED ON TACTICS AHG WOULD FOLLOW OVER NEXT WEEKS NOW
THAT EASTERN PROPOSAL HAS BEEN TABLED (VIENNA 9247). FRG

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PAGE 02 VIENNA 09297 01 OF 02 120645Z

REP (BEHREND) AS LAST WEEK'S CHAIRMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY

BELGIAN REP (ANDRIAENSSEN) AND DANISH DEPREP (KORSGAARD-PEDERSEN), WILL PRESENT FIRST AHG BRIEFING TO NAC NOVEMBER 9. AHG COORDINATED LINE OF RESPONSE ON EASTERN PROPOSAL TO BE TAKEN IN DISCUSSIONS WITH EASTERN REPS AT NOVEMBER 8 RECEPTION GIVEN BY AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR. FINALLY, APPROVAL WAS GIVEN TO THE TEXT OF THE FRG THEME PAPER ON FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES AND PARITY-COMMON CEILING OBJECTIVE, WHICH WILL BE DELIVERED AT NOVEMBER 13 PLENARY. END SUMMARY.

1. EASTERN REDUCTION PROPOSAL: FOLLOWING MORNING PLENARY MEETING OF NOVEMBER 8, AHG MET IN THE AFTERNOON AT THE GERMAN EMBASSY UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE GREEK REP. GROUP FIRST TOOK UP EXAMINATION OF THE EASTERN REDUCTION PROPOSAL AND ACCOMPANYING STATEMENT PRESENTED BY USSR REP KHESTOV IN 8 NOVEMBER PLENARY (VIENNA 9248). OVERALL REACTION OF US REP WAS THAT SOVIET INITIATIVE WAS NOT AN UNFAVORABLE DEVELOPMENT: IT OPENED A DIALOGUE IN THE CONFERENCE, IS OBVIOUSLY A MAXIMUM POSITION, AND HAS THE EFFECT OF MOVING THE NEGOTIATIONS ALONG. IN THE US VIEW, THE SOVIETS MUST HAVE BROUGHT THE PROPOSAL TO VIENNA ALREADY FORMULATED, AND IT IS JUST AS WELL TO HAVE IT SURFACED NOW, RATHER THAN AFTER MONTHS OF DEBATE.

2. ALLIED LANGUAGE EXPERTS HAVING PROVIDED REVISED TRANSLATION, THE AHG TOOK UP A PARAGRAPH BY PARAGRAPH REVIEW OF THE SOVIET STATEMENT. FOLLOWING INTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF A VARIETY OF POINTS AND QUESTIONS RAISED BY EASTERN PROPOSAL, AHG SET UP A WORKING GROUP TO PREPARE A WRITTEN ANALYSIS (SEPTIL) WHICH IS TO BE AVAILABLE FOR FRG REP TO TAKE WITH HIM TO BRUSSELS NOV 9 TO BRIEF THE NAC.

3. CHAIRMAN INFORMED AHG OF TEXT OF HIS MESSAGE TO THE NATO SYG AND OF HIS EXPECTATION THAT IT WOULD BE CIRCULATED TO PERMREPS. MESSAGE TRANSMITTED TEXT OF EASTERN PROPOSAL, ACCOMPANYING SOVIET PRESENTATION STATEMENT, CONTINGENCY PRESS GUIDANCE PAPER PREPARED BY AHG NIGHT OF 7 NOVEMBER, AND PARAGRAPH ADDED TO UK REP'S THEME PRESENTATION AT 8 NOVEMBER PLENARY AS INITIAL RESPONSE TO EASTERN PROPOSAL.

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PAGE 03 VIENNA 09297 01 OF 02 120645Z

4. THE GROUP REVIEWED ITS CONTINGENCY PREPARATIONS SHOULD THE SOVIET PROPOSAL BECOME PUBLIC. KHESTOV HAD ASSURED SEVERAL ALLIED DELEGATES THAT THE EASTERN SIDE INTENDED TO MAINTAIN CONFIDENTIALITY OF ITS INITIATIVE. US DEP REP STRESSED THAT IN LIGHT OF SOVIET ASSURANCES IT WAS ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT THAT THE ALLIES MAKE SPECIAL EFFORT TO MAINTAIN STRICT SECURITY. NONE-

THELESS, THERE WAS POSSIBILITY THAT SOVIETS WOULD LEAK PROPOSAL THROUGH CLANDESTINE CHANNELS FROM BRUSSELS OR VIENNA. AHG AGREED THAT ITS PLANS FOR REACTING TO A LEAK SHOULD BE KEPT UP-TO-DATE. SIMILAR PRECAUTIONS SHOULD PREVAIL IN BRUSSELS AS WELL.

5. PAPER ON POSSIBLE SHORT-TERM TACTICAL STEPS: US REP INTRODUCED PAPER ON POSSIBLE SHORT-TERM TACTICAL STEPS (PAPER AS REVISED BY AD HOC GROUP SENT SEPTEL), STATING THAT PAPER BUILT ON DISCUSSION IN AHG ON EVENING OF 7 NOVEMBER AND WAS DESIGNED TO FACILITATE DISCUSSION OF TACTICAL ALTERNATIVES ALLIES COULD TAKE WHILE PREPARING FOR TABLING ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL. HE SAID THAT OF VARIOUS ALTERNATIVES HE WANTED TO SUGGEST FOR CONSIDERATION AN APPROACH IN WHICH ALLIES COULD COMPLETE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR THEMES AND AIM FOR EARLY TABLING OF FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL, I.E. NOVEMBER 20, AS A TARGET DATE. ALLIES WOULD THEN EMPHASIZE MERITS OF FRAMEWORK PAPER. ALLIES MIGHT WORK INTO THEIR LATER STATEMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL A LIMITED AMOUNT OF SELECTIVE TREATMENT OF POSITIVE ASPECTS OF EASTERN PROPOSAL.

6. ITALIAN REP (CAGIATA) STATED CONCERN THAT BY MAKING REFERENCE TO POSITIVE ASPECTS OF SOVIET PROPOSALS ALLIES MIGHT GIVE OTHER SIDE IMPRESSION THAT THEY WERE WILLING TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS ON BASIS OF EASTERN PROPOSAL. US REP SUGGESTED THAT REFERENCE TO POSITIVE ASPECTS OF EASTERN PROPOSAL WOULD BE LIMITED AND THAT ALLIES WOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THEY WERE NOT SUBSCRIBING TO EASTERN PROPOSAL. ON OTHER HAND ALLIES COULD NOT INDEFINITELY IGNORE EXISTENCE OF SOVIET PROPOSAL AFTER ALLIED HAD PUT DOWN THEIR FRAMEWORK.
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 VIENNA 09297 01 OF 02 120645Z

7. FRG REP SAID HE SAW ADVANTAGES TO SUGGESTED ALTERNATIVE BUT THAT ALLIES NEEDED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THAT ALLIANCE MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO AGREE TO FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL BY 20 NOVEMBER. FOR THIS REASON ALLIES SHOULD NOT EXCLUDE THE ALTERNATIVE IN WHICH ALLIED REPS FURTHER DEVELOPED THEIR THEMES AND SUBSEQUENTLY CRITICALLY QUESTIONED AND DIRECTED CRITICISM AT EASTERN PROPOSAL. THIS WOULD BE FOLLOWED LATER BY TABLING OF ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL PRESENTED AS SUPERSEDING EASTERN PROPOSAL.

8. BELGIAN REP EXPRESSED VIEW THAT ALLIES COULD NOT IGNORE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A PROLONGED PERIOD. IN CASE OF A LEAK ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO ANSWER QUERIES FROM

PRESS. HE SUGGESTED A COMBINATION OF THE TWO
ALTERNATIVES BEING DISCUSSED. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT,
DISCUSSING POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF SOVIET
PAPER WOULD TEND TO FOCUS ON MAKING EASTERN PAPER "THE"
PAPER ON THE TABLE. HE ALSO EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM THAT
ALLIANCE COULD AGREE ON FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL BY 20
NOVEMBER.

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 09297 02 OF 02 120607Z

14

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PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 DRC-01 /153 W

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R 110852Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 522

SECDEF

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 9297

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

9. UK REP (ROSE) EXPRESSED PREFERENCE FOR
ALTERNATIVE SUGGESTED BY US REP, MINUS INCLUSION OF
EVEN OF PASSING REFERENCES TO POSITIVE ASPECTS OF EASTERN
PROPOSAL. HE SUGGESTED THAT AT THIS TIME IMPORTANT POINT IN
NEGOTIATIONS ALLIANCE SHOULD NOT BE LEAD INTO
SITUATION WHERE NEGOTIATIONS BECAME FOCUSED ON SOVIET
PROPOSAL. HE AGREED WITH BELGIAN REP THAT IT WAS
DOUBTFUL ALLIANCE COULD AGREE ON FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL BY
20 NOVEMBER. HE THOUGHT FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL MIGHT BE

AGREED BY LAST WEEK OF NOVEMBER. HE FURTHER STATED THAT THERE WERE TACTICAL ADVANTAGES TO HAVING AN ALLIANCE PAPER ON THE TABLE. HIS EXPERIENCE WITH CCD WAS THAT SOVIETS OBTAINED TACTICAL ADVANTAGES BY TABLING FIRST DRAFT OF AN AGREEMENT. IF ALLIANCE IS TO OBTAIN ITS OBJECTIVES, ALLIES SHOULD TABLE THEIR OWN PAPER BUT PROBABLY COULD NOT DO SO BY 20 NOVEMBER. HE SUGGESTED
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 VIENNA 09297 02 OF 02 120607Z

THAT ALLIES FINISH PRESENTATION OF THEMES BY 15 NOVEMBER AND THAT FOLLOWING WEEK ALLIES PRESENT A SUMMARY OR SYNTHESIS OF ALL POSITIVE ELEMENTS SET FORTH IN ALLIED OPENING STATEMENTS AND PRESENTATION OF THEMES. ALLIES MIGHT THEN PAUSE AND CIRCULATE A MEMORANDUM OR EVEN POSSIBLY A DRAFT AGREEMENT. US DEP REP SUGGESTED THAT APPROACH PROPOSED BY UK REP WAS FEASIBLE AND REASONABLE BUT THAT ALLIANCE COULD NOT GO OR INDEFINITELY WITHOUT COMMENTING ON SOVIET PROPOSAL.

10. UK REP STATED THAT WHILE IT WAS NOT FEASIBLE ALLIES WOULD AGREE ON A DRAFT TREATY BY 20 NOVEMBER IT WAS NOT BEYOND ALLIANCE POWERS TO AGREE ON A WORKING PAPER WITH FAIRLY SPECIFIC TERMS. FRG REP EXPRESSED VIEW THAT A FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL NEEDED TO INCLUDE DETAILS SUCH AS PREREDUCTION CONSTRAINTS, PHASING, AND FORCES TO BE ADDRESSED. SEVERAL WEEKS WOULD BE NEEDED TO GET ALLIANCE AGREEMENT. HE AGAIN ARGUED FOR NOT REJECTING TACTIC OF CRITICISM OF SOVIET PROPOSAL.

11. ITALIAN REP SUPPORTED UK REP'S PROPOSAL FOR A SYNTHESIS OF ALLIED POSITIONS. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT ALTERNATIVE SUPPORTED BY FRG REP MEANT ALLIANCE WOULD FOCUS ON SOVIET PROPOSAL.

12. UK REP STATED THAT A FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL WOULD NEED TO BE DETAILED AND FULLY COORDINATED IN NAC. DETAILS MIGHT BE PRESENTED IN A FORMAL MEMO ACCOMPANIED BY DISCUSSION PAPER ALONG LINES OF ONE TABLED BY SOVIETS ON 8 NOVEMBER. HE EXPRESSED VIEW THAT IF ALLIES BEGAN DISCUSSING SOVIET PROPOSAL THEY WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY EXTRICATING THEMSELVES FROM DISCUSSION IN ORDER TO PRESENT THEIR FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL.

13. US DEPREP SUGGESTED THAT ALLIES TRY TO AGREE ON FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE WITHOUT SETTING ARTIFICIAL DEADLINE AND THAT DURING WEEK OF 12 NOVEMBER ALLIES PRESENT REMAINDER OF THEMES AND SUBSEQUENTLY PRESENT SYNTHESIS OF POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN ALLIED STATEMENTS. FRG REP AGREED TO FOLLOW THIS

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 VIENNA 09297 02 OF 02 120607Z

APPROACH FOR NEXT TWO WEEKS. HE DID NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS, HOWEVER, TO BEGIN CRITICIZING SOVIET PROPOSAL IF ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL WAS NOT READY IN TWO WEEKS. AHG THEN AGREED THAT CRITICISM OF SOVIET PROPOSAL COULD BE PURSUED AS A FALLBACK IF AGREEMENT ON FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL WERE DELAYED AND AGREED TO MODIFIED APPROACH DESCRIBED IN PART 111 OF VIENNA 9247.

14. US DEPREP PROPOSED THAT FRG REP INFORM NAC DURING 9 NOVEMBER BRIEFING ON THIS AHG TACTICAL DECISION. UK REP SUGGESTED THAT AGREED TACTICAL APPROACH BE DESCRIBED AS AGREED BY AHG AS RECOMMENDATION TO NAC, FOR LATER DISCUSSION, BUT DID NOT PURSUE POINT WHEN US DEP REP, WITH SUPPORT FROM REST OF AHG, EXPRESSED VIEW THAT AHG AGREED APPROACH WAS NOW BEING REPORTED TO NAC FOR REACTION IT SHOULD BE PURSUED UNLESS ACTIVELY CHALLENGED AT THE NAC.

15. AHG PRESENTATION OF NAC ON 9 NOVEMBER. FRG REP, WHO WILL BE PRIMARY SPOKESMAN FOR AHG AT 9 NOVEMBER PRESENTATION TO NAC, EXPRESSED VIEW THAT NAC WOULD BE MOST INTERESTED IN SOVIET PROPOSAL AND PRESENT SITUATION. HE AND BELGIAN REP AND DANISH DEPREP WOULD PRESENT BRIEF ASSESSMENT OF OPENING STATEMENTS, ELABORATE ON EASTERN POSITION (E.G. POLISH REP'S PRESS CONFERENCE) AND DISCUSS SOVIET DRAFT AGREEMENT AND ACCOMPANYING STATEMENT. HE WOULD THEN REPORT TACTICAL APPROACH AGREED BY AHG. UK REP EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT NAC WOULD ALSO WANT TO DISCUSS ISSUE OF MBFR DATA, EXPRESSING VIEW THAT SOME IN BRUSSELS DID NOT FEEL HANDLING OF THIS ISSUE HAD GONE WELL. GREEK REP ASKED THAT AHG REPS MAKE POINT THAT FLANK INTERESTS WERE BEING PROTECTED.

16. COORDINATED POSITION TO BE TAKEN IN DISCUSSION AT AUSTRIAN RECEPTION ON 8 NOVEMBER. US DEPREP ADVISED AHG TO EXERCISE DISCRETION IN DISCUSSIONS AT AUSTRIAN RECEPTION SINCE AUSTRIAN NATIONALS WOULD BE PRESENT. CHAIRMAN SUGGESTED THAT IN DISCUSSION OF EASTERN PROPOSAL ALLIED REPS MIGHT FOLLOW LINE AGREED BY AHG TO USE ON CONTINGENCY BASIS WITH PRESS. FRG REP SUGGESTED MODIFIED LINE IN WHICH ALLIES WOULD SAY SOVIET PROPOSAL WAS A WELCOME DEVELOPMENT SHOWING THAT EAST WAS INTERESTED

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 VIENNA 09297 02 OF 02 120607Z

IN BEING ACTIVE IN NEGOTIATIONS BUT THAT PROPOSALS DID

NOT MEET MAIN CONSIDERATIONS SET FORTH IN ALLIED STATEMENTS AND PARTICULARLY CONSIDERATIONS SET FORTH BY UK REP IN DISPARITIES THEME PRESENTED IN 8 NOVEMBER PLENARY FOLLOWING PRESENTATION OF SOVIET PROPOSAL.

17. CANADIAN REP REPORTED THAT WHEN HE ASKED ROMANIAN REP POPESCU WHETHER HE AGREED WITH SOVIET PROPOSAL, POPESCU RESPONDED THAT ROMANIA WOULD HAVE TO STUDY THE PROPOSAL VERY CAREFULLY FIRST.

18. FRG THEME ON FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES, PARITY AND COMMON CEILING. AHG DISCUSSED FRG DRAFT THEME AND MADE MINOR MODIFICATIONS.

19. AGENDA FOR 9 NOVEMBER AHG MEETING. AHG WILL MEET AT 10:30 ON 9 NOVEMBER TO DISCUSS DRAFT US THEME ON PHASING AND FOCUS ON US AND SOVIET FORCES, WHICH WILL BE PRESENTED AT 13 NOVEMBER PLENARY ALONG WITH FRG PRESENTATION.

HUMES

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENT DRAFT, ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973VIENNA09297
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731141/aaaabdtx.tel
Line Count: 352
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <28-Aug-2001 by smithrj>; APPROVED <06 MAR 2002 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING NOVEMBER 8
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005